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of 1858, are peculiarly harsh, and the writer's asperity is apparently due only to the fact that the minister claimed for himself the honor of the insertion in the treaty of the so-called "toleration clause," which the author thinks belonged to himself and to Dr. S. Wells Williams, the legation interpreter, though he lessens the importance of this clause on another page by stating that it had been inserted in previous treaties and that the Chinese government had therefore already committed itself to the principle it denounced.

A number of chapters of this book are more or less borrowed from or implied by the Doctor's previous works, especially his "Hanlin papers;" in fact, this book, itself a compilation of short papers published in various periodicals, may be considered the principal authority of the writer for many of his most interesting statements, as for example on the Jews of Kai-feng Fu, Chinese education, philosophy and Confucian ethics.

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes. Edited by REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vols. I. III., Acadia, 1610-1616. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1896, 1897. Pp. xiii, 319, 310, 301.)

The edition of the *Relations des Jésuites* published by the province of Quebec in 1858 has now become somewhat scarce. Its three stout octavo volumes contain only the letters inserted in the Cramoisy series (Paris) from 1632 till 1672, with two or three additional ones. It is a fair reproduction of the original text, but without annotation. The O'Callaghan edition, subsequent to the Quebec one, is far superior to it, yet not complete.

The Thwaites edition, now being published, will mark an epoch in the historical literature of North America because of the abundance and value of the documents reproduced and the vast erudition utilized by the editorial staff, the taste displayed by the printer and the careful arrangement. The original French, Latin and Italian texts in which the various letters, narratives, descriptions, etc., were written are given with English translations and notes, making the collection a full record of small as well as great facts connected with the history of the early explorations of Acadia, Canada and all the northern groups of the United States. Mr. Thwaites will cover one hundred and eighty years with his sixty volumes of this rare and valuable literature: rare because it is next to an impossibility to gather all the scattered fragments into one hand, and valuable if you calculate either their high market price or the treasure of knowledge they add to our studies. Mr. Thwaites properly observes that "The story of New France is also, in part, the story of much of New England, and of the states whose shores are washed by the Great Lakes

and the Mississippi River. It may truly be said that the history of every one of our northern tier of commonwealths, from Maine to Minnesota, has its roots in the French régime. It is not true, as Bancroft avers, that the Jesuit was ever the pioneer of New France; we now know that in this land, as elsewhere in all ages, the trader nearly always preceded the priest. But the trader was not a letter-writer or a diarist; hence we owe our intimate knowledge of New France, particularly in the seventeenth century, chiefly to the wandering missionaries of the Society of Jesus."

It is only right to mention in this place the editorial staff, as their names are vouchers for the correctness and the ability which makes the present series a commanding edition above all previous ones:—translator from the French, John Cutler Covert; assistant translator from the French, Mary Sifton Pepper; translators from the Latin, William Frederick Giese and John Dorsey Wolcott; translator from the Italian, Mary Sifton Pepper; assistant editor, Emma Helen Blair. As for Mr. Thwaites, under whose direction this enormous investigation is accomplished, it is needless to discourse upon his extensive labors in this particular field or to commend his control of the innumerable facts embodied in such a work.

The first volume contains eight letters and five illustrative documents relative to the years 1610–1613 in Acadia. Marc Lescarbot opens the list with his pamphlet on *The Conversion of the Savages*. This clever man and capital observer resided in Acadia during the years 1606–1607 and published several other works relative to the country. His erudition seems to have been extensive and sound. He deals at the outset with the probable origin of the beliefs found amongst the Indians of America in regard to the Creation and such generalities. But his main aim is to facilitate the spreading of Christianity throughout the newly discovered regions of the West. He reproves the Europeans for their lack of zeal. This brings on an examination of the doings of the explorers, and he gradually concentrates his views upon Acadia, where De Monts and Poutrincourt had recently tried their hands at starting a colony with but slight success. These pages are replete with curious information. The author shows how friendly the Indians were to the new-comers and exhibits their manner of life, not omitting an account of the influence of the great Sagamore Membertou and his family, all of them with several others "enrolled in the family of God by the cleansing water of holy baptism"—for Lescarbot was a strong believer in the conversion of all who did not refuse to be christened.

The second document in the first volume is "A Letter Missive in regard to the Conversion and Baptism of the Grand Sagamore of New France," written in Acadia (1610) by one Bertrand, a Huguenot layman, who describes the conversion of Membertou and his fellow savages, and speaks with enthusiasm of the new country.

Just as this short letter of Bertrand and the book of Lescarbot were in the hands of the printer in Paris (1610) two Jesuit fathers received instructions to embark for Acadia. The Frenchmen of Port Royal and other localities in the colony were already divided between themselves;

the addition of the Jesuit element was not calculated to smooth the situation. In fact the trouble began even before Fathers Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé left France for their new destination.

Biard was a talented man. The three letters written by him in 1611 are the first productions of the Jesuit literature inserted in the volume now before us. There is also a letter from Father Massé of the same year. Biard, like Lescarbot, must be read line by line because the texture of his phrases holds so fast that every expression is a link in the chain. I will, nevertheless, try to give an idea of his style by quoting a few passages of his second letter dated from "Port Royal, New France, or Canada," June 11, 1611. During the winter the people at Port Royal thought wise to cut down their rations, "but such economy was of little avail, since Sieur de Poutrincourt did not lessen his liberality towards the Savages, fearing to alienate them from the Christian faith. He is truly a liberal and magnanimous gentleman, refusing all recompense for the good he does them; so when they are occasionally asked why they do not give him something in return for so many favors they are accustomed to answer cunningly: *Endries ninan metaij Sagamo*, that is to say: Monsieur does not care for our beaver skins. Nevertheless, they have now and then sent him some pieces of elk-meat. . . . But they [the French] had a good chance to economize when the winter came, for their mill froze up, and they had no way of making flour. Happily for them they found a store of peas and beans, which proved to be their manna and ambrosia for seven weeks. Then April came, but not the ship; now it was just as well that the mill was frozen up, for they had nothing to put in the hopper. What were they to do? Hunger is a bad complaint. Some began to fish, others to dig. From their fishing they obtained some smelts and herrings; from their digging some very good roots, called *chiqueli*, which were very abundant in certain places. . . The whole foundation of Christianity here consists, after God, in this little settlement of a family [Membertou's] of about twenty persons. Messire Jessé Flesche, commonly called the Patriarch, has had charge of it; and, in the year that he has lived here, has baptized about one hundred savages. The trouble is that he has not been able to instruct them as he would have wished, because he did not know the language, and had nothing with which to support them; for he who would minister to their souls must at the same time resolve to nourish their bodies. This worthy man has shown great friendliness toward us, and thanked God for our coming."

The history of Acadia in 1610-1613 is merely that of an attempt to catechise the aborigines; every individual concerned in the management of the colony seems to have adopted this scheme as the main policy to pursue—Poutrincourt, Lescarbot, Bertrand, the Marchioness de Guercheville, the missionaries Fléché, Biard, Massé, Quentin, Du Thet.

On the background of the same scene were the traders Pontgravé, Latour, Bertrand and others, occupied in cajolery with Membertou and his people in order to procure beaver skins. Of course, these merchants kept an active rivalry between themselves, and Membertou reaped the

benefit. As to actual settlers and tillers of the soil it is hardly possible to find more than a meagre commencement of such a colony. The men hired by De Monts and Poutrincourt, recruited in the towns and cities of France, were unfit to make a living in Acadia by their own industry. They could neither plough the land nor kill the game in the forest nor fish. Their existence depended upon the provisions brought from Rouen.

At the end of the volume we have several papers dealing with the state of affairs of early Acadia, by Father Jouvençy, a historian of the Society of Jesus who wrote (in Latin) one hundred years later—a précis of the expedition of Samuel Argall, in 1613.

Volume II. contains three letters from Pierre Biard and one narrative by Lescarbot, all concerning Acadia in 1612-1614. Biard has decidedly improved in his knowledge since the year 1611; a few months of residence at Port Royal and two or three journeys into the wilderness opened a large field to his keen faculties of perception; he is now conversant with the situation from the River Penobscot to Cape Breton and from Gaspé to the Bay of Fundy. No one before him, even Champlain, obtained so wide a view of the country. The climate, the nature of the soil, the forests, the physical characteristics of the various regions, are fully and clearly described by him. The circumstances attending the opening of the religious missions in that new land are set forth in impressive language. The visits to savage tribes by Father Massé and himself, with details of conversions and baptisms, also a statement of the conditions and prospects of spiritual work among the aborigines, present facts of high interest because they apply not only to the Indians of the East, but in their main features to all the nations afterward discovered in other directions. He reviews with fairness the previous missionary enterprise of Fléché and the rival establishment at Mt. Desert. Then follows an account of the destruction of both establishments (1613) by Argall, and of the fate of the Jesuit prisoners in Virginia and England. The last letter of Biard, written during the winter of 1613-1614, is a remarkable document, bearing in its first part on the whole of New France as known by the explorers at that date, its geography, its climate, its people and their customs.

The style of Father Biard is lively and his quaint old forms of speech very attractive. In his Latin this is hardly perceptible, but his French is that of Montaigne. When he tells us of a trip he made to a trading post on the St. Croix and St. John rivers, this first initiation to the life of the *coureurs de bois* makes things whirl in his head and he is at a loss to understand the merriment of these folk: "During the day, nothing but friendliness. But (alas!) when evening came, I know not how, everything was turned topsy-turvy; confusion, discord, rage, uproar reigned between our people and those of St. Malo. I do not doubt that a cursed band of furious and sanguinary spirits were hovering about all this night, expecting every hour and moment a horrible massacre of the few Christians who were there. . . . The next day, this nocturnal storm

ended in a beautiful and delightful calm, the dark shadows and spectres giving way to a luminous peace."

Next follows Lescarbot's *Last Relation* of what took place in the Voyage made by *Sieur de Poutrincourt*. The author praises *Poutrincourt* for his exertions in Canada in behalf of both religion and civilization, and urges that he should be aided in his colonial enterprise as a necessary basis for religious work in this portion of the New World. The life at Port Royal is pictured in some detail; its labors and privations are dwelt upon. He does not fail to exhibit, although cautiously, his dislike of the Jesuits, and endeavors to show that their coming to Port Royal involved delay and expense to the colonial movement, thereby injuring *Poutrincourt*. The possibility of making Christians out of the wandering Indians puzzles his mind, whilst the conclusion of *Biard's* study of the case is that, despite all the drawbacks, the Jesuit mission in Acadia has made a hopeful beginning.

This second volume is illustrated with four good engravings comprising maps and plans of Port Royal.

Volume III. is wholly from the pen of Father Pierre Biard and may be called a full history of Acadia up to 1614. Supposing for a moment that we were at present totally deprived of books relating to the first connection of the Caucasian with the shores of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Cape Cod, this sole production of Biard would be sufficient to save the record of these facts from oblivion.

Beginning with the Bretons who discovered a part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1504, we are brought gradually to 1604, when De Monts settled in Acadia, a round period of a century, and during the ten subsequent years the struggles of the Normans, the French Bretons, the Jesuits, the English in various sections of the coast, are related with simplicity, but with many keen and even philosophical observations.

"Whatever I saw there," he says, "was extreme poverty. Wretched cabins, open in many places; our food, peas and beans, rather scarce in quantity; our drink, pure water; the clothes of our people all in rags; our supplies found in the woods from day to day; our medicine a glass of wine on great holidays; our restoratives, perchance a little feathered game; the place uninhabited; no footprints upon the paths; our shoes only fit for the fireside. After this, go and say there is no winter in Canada. But at least do not say that the water here is not excellent, and the air not healthful, for it is certainly wonderful."

Fresh air and drinkable water, such were the practical results of the schemes conceived by De Monts, *Poutrincourt* and Madame de Guercheville. In 1613 Acadia was abandoned a second time, and twenty years were to elapse before the French authorities should devote their attention to it again. The Basques and the Bretons kept themselves busy as usual at the fisheries and enjoyed the liberty of trading for furs with the Indians, which was no more contested by De Monts or *Poutrincourt*. The actual situation of Acadia had returned to what it was from 1504 to 1604, with this difference only, that Biencourt and Latour remained in the

country with a few *coureurs de bois* in order to trade with the vessels coming yearly from France for that purpose. These two typical adventurers used to gather the pelts they could get in barter with the Indians and in time sell them to the Bretons or other French navigators. In this pursuit they continually occupied the vast area of land and sea explored by them, but more especially the peninsula of Nova Scotia, where they planted trading posts or forts, at its southern extremity.

Thus we are far from realizing the dazzling conceptions of Poutrincourt, who imagined that he had created a barony for himself when he received the grant of these wild lands from De Monts and afterwards from the King of France. Commerce was no object to him, he said. His son and Latour, who quarreled because they found that immense domain too small for their cupidity, were traders and nothing else. Madame de Guercheville wished to civilize the Indians by the employment of good preachers and schoolmasters. De Monts was wholly given to trade. None of them ever thought of the necessary element for the foundation of their pretended New France ; they forgot entirely to send there a few rural families to make a beginning of the cultivation of the soil. The men they took with them were all radically unfit to make a living in a new country.

Father Biard seems to have realized that the French are not the sort of people to build a colony, when he shows how short-sighted they were during the years 1604-1613. The example of 1608-1760 in Lower Canada demonstrates on a large scale their incapacity in that respect. The explorations of the continent, Jesuit missions, war with the Indians, war with the English, all led up to a petty system of fur trade that was for the benefit of a few and of no avail to colonization. On the contrary, it always worked against the agricultural community. The latter was but a tiny shadow of what the English colonies possessed in that line. No industries, no self support ; then monopoly after monopoly ; nothing provided for the future. Total : 1760.

Biard writes in 1616 that if another experiment should ever be tried it would be well to dismiss first the pretentious and out-of-place idea of feudal organization for a country without inhabitants save the unruly savages. This advice was not followed by Richelieu, who established the Hundred Partners in 1627. Biard asks for the selection of a suitable locality where an earnest and sound agricultural settlement could be made ; when this was done and the colony in a position to sustain itself in respect of the necessities of life it would be time to think of evangelization and fur trade.

We all know that France kept on the track of 1604 and did the reverse of what Father Biard advocated.

BENJAMIN SULTE.